

A true and Sum-

*marie reporte of the declaration of
some part of the Earle of Nor-
thumberlands Treasons, deliuered publique
in the Court the Starre chamber by the Lord Chancel-
lour and others of her Maiesties most Honourable priue
Counsell, and Counsell learned, by her Maiesties spe-
cial commandement, together with the examina-
tions & depositions of sundrie persons touching
the maner of his most wicked and violent mur-
der committed vpon him selfe with his
owne hand, in the Tower of
London, the 30. day of
June, 1585.*



In edibus C. Barker.

1612
420
192

1585

To the Reader.



Alice among other essentiall properties ap-
pertaining to her ouglie nature, hath this
one not inferiour to the rest and the worst,
Incredulitie, wherewith shee commonly
possesseth the mindes and affections of all
those that are infected with her, so blin-
ding the eyes and iudgement of the best and clearest sighted,
that they cannot see or perceiue the bright beames of the
trueth, although the same be deliuered with neuer so great
puritie, prooffe, circumstance and probabilitie. It is said that
no trueth passeth abroad vnaaccompanied with her contra-
rie, and as they goe, trueth is ever constrained to yeelde the
precedence and preheminence to her yoke fellowe falsehood,
whose lodging is alwaies first made and prepared without a
harbenger in the corrupt nature of mankinde, by whom shee
is first receaued, entertained and harboured at all times:
whereof in our daily experience there happen many and dan-
gerous demonstrations, especially in matters of the highest
moment, sending to excuse or accuse the actions of the grea-
test personages.

There was of late deliuered in publike by persons of ho-
nour, credit and reputation, a large declaration of certaine
treasons practised by the late Earle of Northumberland, of
the maner of his vntimely death, being with his owne hands
murdered in the Towre, and of the causes that wrought him
thereunto: the particularities wherof are such and so many,
as for the helpe of my memorie (comming then to the Starre
chamber by occasion, and not looking for any such presence of
the Nobilitie and priue Counsell as I founde there at that
time, & not looking for any such cause of that nature to haue
bene handled there that day) I toke notes of the seuerall mat-
ters declared by the Lord Chancelour, M. Attorney and
Solicitor General, the Lord chiefe Baron, & Master Vice-
chamberlain:

A. y.

To the Reader.

chamberlaine: for (as I remember) they spake in order as they are beere marshalled, and therefore I place them in this sorte, and not according to their precedence in dignitie.

Vpon the bearing of the treasons with their proones and circumstances, & the desperate maner of the Earles destruction deliuered in that place, and by persons of that qualitie, I supposed no man to haue bene so voide of iudgement or the vse of common reason, that would haue doubted of any one point or particle thereof, untill it was my chaunce (falling in companie with diuers persons at sundrie times, as well about the citie of London as abroade) to heare many men reporte variable and corruptly of the maner and matter of this publique declaration, possessing the mindes and opinions of the people with manifest vntruthes: as, that the Earle had bene vniustly detained in prison without prooffe or iust cause of suspicion of treason: and, that he had bene murdered by deuise and practise of some great enemies, and not destroyed by himselfe. These slaunderous reports haue ministred vnto me this occasion to set forth vnto thy view and consideration (gentle Reader) this shorte collection of the said treasons and murder, as neere vnto the truth as my notes taken may lead and permitte me, with the view of some of the examinations themselves concerning this cause for my better satisfaction sithens obtained: which I haue vndertaken for two respectes: the one to conuince the false and malicious impressions and constructions receiued & made of these actiōs, by such as are in heart enemies to the happie estate of her Maesties present gouernement: the other, because it may bee thought necessarie for the preuenting of a further contagion like to grow (by this creeping infection) in the mindes of such as are apt (though otherwise indifferent) in these & the like rumours, to receiue the bad as the good, and they the most in number. Wherein if I haue seemed more bolde then wise, or intermedled my selfe in matters aboue my reache, and not appertaining vnto me, I craue pardon where it is to be asked, and committe my selfe
to thy

To the Reader.

so thy friendly interpretation to be made of my simple trauell
and auctifull meaning herein.

Vpon the three and twentie daie of Iune last; assembled
in the Court of Starre chamber, Sir Thomas Bromley knight
Lord Chancelour of England, William Lord Burleigh Lord
Treasurer of England, George Earle of Shrewsburie Lord
Marshall of England, Henry Earle of Derby, Robert Earle
of Leicester, Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, Lorde
Chamberlaine, Henrie Lord Hunsdon Lord Gouvernour of
Barwicke, Sir Francis Knollis Knight Treasurer, Sir Iames
Crofte Knight Comptroller of her Maiesties household, Sir
Christopher Hatton knight Vicechamberlaine to the Queenes
Maiestie, the Lord chiefe Iustice of her Maiesties Benche,
the Master of the Rolles, and the Lord chiefe Barron of the
Eschequer, & others: the audience verie great of Knightes,
Esquiers, and men of other qualitie, the Lorde Chancelour
began briefly and summarily to declare, that whereas Henry
late Earle of Northumberland, for diuers notable treasons
and practises by him taken in hand, to the danger not onely of
her Maiesties Roiall person, but to the perill of the whole
Realme, had bene long detained in prison, and looking into
the guilt of his own conscience, & perceiving by such meanes
of intelligence, as he by corrupting of his keepers and other
like deuises had obtained, that his treasons were by sundrie
examinations and confessions discovered, grewe thereby into
such a desperate estate, as that thereupon he had most wic-
kedly destroyed and murdered himselfe, which being made
known to the Lords of her Maiesties priue Counsell, order
was thereupon taken, and direction giuen to the Lord chiefe
Iustice of England, the master of the Rolles, and the Lorde
chiefe Baron of the Eschequer, to examine the manner and
circumstances of his death, which they with all good ende-
uour and diligence had accordingly perfourmed. And
least through the sinister meanes of such persons as bee euill
affected to the present estate of her Maiesties gouernement,
some

*Some bad and untrue conceits might bee had as well of the
cause of the Earles detainemēt, as of the manner of his death:
it was therefore thought necessarie to haue the truth thereof
made known in that presence: and then bee required her
Maiesties learned Counsell there present to deliuer at large
the particularities both of the treasons, and in what sort the
Earle had murdered himselfe. Then began Iohn Popham
Esquier, her Maiesties Attorney Generall, as followeth.*





HE Earle of Northumberland
about the time of the last rebel-
lion in the North, in the xi. yeere
of her Maiesties raigne (then
called by the title of Henrie
Percie Knight) had vndertaken
the conueying away of the
Scottish Queene: for the which
as appeareth by a Record of the

*Master
Attorney
generall.*

fourteenth yeere of her Maiesties raigne, in the Court of
her Maiesties Bench he was indicted, he confessed the
offence, and put himselfe to her Maiesties mercie, At
which time, vpon his said confession, submission & faith-
full promise of his duetie and allegiance to her High-
nesse from thenceforth, the Queenes Maiestie of her
merciful nature was pleased not to looke into his offence
with the extremitie of her Lawes, but dealt therein as by
way of contempt onely, as may appeare by the Recorde:
the effect whereof was then shewed in the Court, vnder
the hande of one of the Clarkes of her Maiesties sayde
Bench; *in hac verba.*

Memorandum, that Henry Percie late of *Tinmouth Middlesex.*
in the Countie of Northumberland knight, was in-
dicted in the Terme of Easter, in the fourteenth
yeere

yeere of her Maiesties raigne, for that hee with di-
ners others did conspire for the deliuering of the Queene
of Scottes out of the custodie of the Earle of Shrensburie:
vpon which indictment the same Henry Percie did confesse
the offence, and did put himselfe to the Queenes mercie, and
thereupon iudgement was after giuen by the Court, that the
sayde Henry shoulde pay to the Queene for a fine for his said
offence, five thousand Markes, as appeareth by the Recorde
thereof in Court.

*Per Micha. 14^o & 15. Elizabetha Regina,
Rotulo quinto inter placista Regina. Concor-
dat cum Recordo.*

Per Io. Inc.

BY this Record it may appeare that the Earle had his
hande in that Rebellion: but for a further prooffe
thereof, it is most manifestly discouered in a certaine
traicte written by the Byshop of Rosse (wherein he shew-
eth how faithfully he behaued himselfe in the managing
of those treasons, at & about the time of that Rebellion)
that the said Earle was in effect as farre plunged into the
same, as the late Earle his brother, howsoever he wound
himselfe out of the danger thereof at that time.

Notwithstanding these traiterous practises, the
Queenes Maiestie was contented to remitte all within a
short time, and then accepted most graciously of him
both in honour and fauour, though vnworthily bestowed
vpon him, for that he vtterly forgetting those graces and
faouours receiued at her Maiesties mercifull hands, with a
gracelesse resolution was contented to enter into a newe
plotte now lately contriued, not onely for the deliuering
of the Scottish Queene, but for the inuading of the
whole Realme, the ouerthrowe of the Gouvernement,
aswell concerning the state of Religion, as otherwise,
the danger of her Maiesties sacred person, and aduaun-
cing

cing of the said Scottish Queene to the Regall crowne and Scepter of this Realme, whereunto her Maiestie is linealy and lawfully borne and descended, and wherein God of his mercie continue her long, in happie state of Gouernment, to the increase of her owne glory, and the comfort of her louing and obedient subiects.

Then did master Attorney enter into the particularities of the treasons, leauing many partes thereof vntouched, because the case stood so as it was nor then conuenient to reueale them (as hee saide) in respect that they touched some other persons vndealt withal at that time, shewing that *Throckmortons* treasons were not olde; but fresh in euery mans memorie; and how farre forth they reached vnto the Earle, he declared. And for that the treasons of *Throckmorton* tended especially to the inuading of the Realme with forreine forces, the purpose of that inuasion long before intended, is prooued by sundry examinations and confessions taken here within the Realme, as well of her Maiesties owne subiects as others, by letters intercepted, written from and to the conspirators abroad and at home, and by other good aduertisements and intelligences had from forreine partes discovering the same. He declared that in a letter writtē from Doctor *Sanders* to Doctor *Allen* out of Spaine, in the yeere 1577. it is set downe among other things, that the state of Christendome stood vpon the stoute assailing of Englande.

That in a letter sent to the same *Allen* from Rome, touching audience giuen by the Pope to the Ambassadors of certaine forraine Princes, betweene the Pope and whom a league was agreed on against the Queenes Maiestie, there were inclosed certaine articles containing in effecte, that the Realme shoulde be inuaded with 20000. men at the charge of the saide Pope and Princes, that her Maiestie should be deposed, and some English Catholique elected king.

That it was confessed, that the coming over of so many Priests into the Realme, was to winne great numbers to the Catholique partie, to ioyne (if opportunie serued) either with forraine inuasion, or with tumult at home.

That at *Narbonne* in Prouince, there was met an Englishman, being the head preacher there, who gaue intelligence to one of her Maiesties subiects, that the Realme should shortly be inuaded by a forraine king, and the Popish religion restored: and saide further, that Priestes came into England and dispersed themselves in countreyes, to make their partie strong.

A message was sent in Nouember 1581. to Doctor Allen from a subiect of this Realme, by a Seminarie priest then returning beyond the Seas, that whereas he had receiued worde from Allen at Allhallowtide before, that men and all things were in a readines, if the place of landing might be knowen: that Allen should forthwith send worde whether things were in such readinesse or not: and if they were, he would then send him such perfect instructions as he could.

One *Payne* executed for treason, confessed that this Realme could not continue in the state wherein it was, for that the Pope had a speciall care thereof, and would in short time eyther by forren princes, or by some other meanes worke a change of things here.

From hence, Master Attorney fell into the Treasons confessed by Francis Throckmorton, shewing that the state of this Realme had bene often presented to the consideration of a forraine prince, who after long hearkening to the motion, had resolved to yeelde what furtherance he might, and to giue all aydes necessarie for the resourming of religion, so they might be backed by such as were well affected within this countrey.

That the Duke of *Guise* had solicited for two yeeres together the pope and other princes, to supply him
with

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with forces : but being crossed by the death of a great personage, it was nowe growen to this passe, if there could be a partie founde in England to ioyne in that action, and conuenient places and meanes for landing, and other things necessarie, there should be a supply for Guise of forraigne strength.

Francis Throckmorton was recommended from beyond the sea to *Don Bernardino de Mendoza*, Ambassadour resident for the Spanish king here in England, who acquainted Throckmorton what plotte was layde for the enterprise of the Duke of Guise, and that he was willed to conferre with Throckmorton in the matter, who thereupon acquainted the saide Ambassadour with the plotte of the Hauens, and with the Noblemen and gentlemen that he had set downe as fitte to be dealt withall in that cause.

Throckmorton saide, that the bottome of this enterprise (which was not to be knowne to many) was, that if a tolleration of religion might not be obtained without alteration of the gouernement, that then the gouernmēt should be altered, and the Queene remooued.

That the Scottish Queene was made acquainted frō the Duke of Guise with the intention to relieue her by these forces.

It was in debate betwene Throckmorton and the Spanish Ambassadour, how the Scottish Queene might be deliuered, as by an enterprise to be made with a certaine number of horse: and it was tolde Francis Throckmorton by his brother Thomas Throckmorton, that it was a principall matter in debate beyond the seas, howe she might be deliuered with safetie: the lacke of resolution wherein, was the principall stay of the execution of the attempt of inuasion.

Mendoza told Francis Throckmorton about Bartholomewtide 1583. that one *Moape* was come into England to sound the Earle of Northumberland, and other

principall men in Suffex: and about the ende of September following, the same *Mendoza* tolde him, that *Morpe* was *Charles Paget*, and that he came not onely to sound the men, but to viewe the places, the hauens, the provisions and meanes, and neerenesse and commoditie of mens abidings that should ioyn with y^e forraine forces.

It was deuised, that such Noblemen and others as would be contented to assist the forraine forces (being Iustices of peace and of credit in their countreyes) might by coulour of their authoritie, leuie men as for her Maiesties defence, and yet employ them to assist the forraine forces. The Lord *Paget* was made acquainted with this deuise, and answered, that it was a good course, and that he had thought vpon it before.

Mendoza tolde *Throckmorton*, that *Charles Paget* had bene in Suffex, and had spoken with those that were there, and that he came to moue the Earle of Northumberland and others.

The night before *Throckmorton* was apprehended, he came to the Lord *Paget*, and desired him that he would not acquaint the Earle of Northumberland & certaine others (whom he named) with such matters as had passed betweene them two, touching the practise of this inuasion: & the Lord *Paget* willed him to deale as wisely for his part as he would doe for himselfe, and all should be well: but (quoth the Lord *Paget*) the Earle of Northumberland knoweth you well enough.

It was once agreed among the confederates, that the Duke of Guise should land in Suffex, being ouer against Deipe and Normandie: which after was misliked, because those partes lay too neere to her Maiesties greatest force and store, and that the people thereabout for the most part were protestants.

Master Attorney shewed further, that in Sommer last, there was taken vpon the seas, sayling towards Scotland, a Scottish Iesuite, about whom there was founde a discourse

course writtē in Italian of a like enterprise to be attempted against England, which should haue bene executed in September or October then last past: wherein assurance is made that the Earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, *Dacres* that is dead, whom they termed Lord *Dacres*, and of al the Catholique Lords & Gentlemen in the North parts (where the inuasion should haue bene attempted) setting it downe that it is not saide by coniecture that these men are assured, but that it is certainly knowen that they will ioyne with the forren forces. In the said discourse it is also affirmed that the priests dispersed in the Realme, can dispose of the other Catholiques of the Realme, as they shalbe ordered: and that the Popes excommunication shoulde bee renewed and pronounced against her Maiestie and all those that shall take her part: and that all such should bee holden Traitors that did not ioyne with that armie by a daye.

When Master Attorney had thus prooued the purpose of inuasion, he proceeded to the prooofe of *Charles Pagets* comming ouer about the practise and prosecution of that enterprise. And first, that *Paget* came to Petworth in September 1583, was secretly receiued, and brought in the night late to the Earle of Northumberland into his gallerie at Petworth, by one of the Earles seruants: where the Earle and he had secret conference together by the space of a large houre: from thence *Paget* was likewise conueied backe into the Towne by the same seruant, and there lodged all that night, & the next night following was conuayed secretly to a lodge in the Earles parke at Petworth, called Conigar Lodge, where he was kept with like secrecie by the space of eight daies or thereabouts, & the seruant by whom *Paget* was thus conuayed, was by the Earle enioyned and commanded in no wise to discouer *Pagets* being there.

The Earle of Northumberland, vpon the arriual of *Charles Paget*, sent for the Lord *Paget* with the priuie of this

of this seruāt, who was made beleue that Charles came ouer to set things in order, and to passe certaine deedes and conueyances betweene the Lorde Paget and him. The Lorde Paget came to Petworth, stayed there two nights, lodged in the Earles house, conferred with Charles Paget, and with the Earle together fundrie times.

The Earle after his apprehension, being at seuerall times examined what causes or affaires had passed betweene the Lord Paget & Charles his brother, when they were together at Petworth, answered one while, that they passed certaine deedes and conueiaunces: and another while, that there was onely a will or Testament signed & sealed betweene them: he confessed that he set his hande to the will, but knewe not what the same contained: all which appeared to be false, for that it hath fallen out by occasion of seisure of the landes and goods of the Lord Paget (after his departure out of the Realme) that hee had disposed of his landes and goods by an other course of assurance executed at London: and therefore their pretence of the passing of deedes and will at Petworth, was but a deuise to shadowe their trayterous conspiracies. And for better prooffe thereof, it was alleaged by Master Attorney, that Charles Paget retourning from Petworth to the house of one William Dauies, neere to the place where Paget had landed in Suffex, and tooke shipping againe at his departure beyond the seas, sent to William Shelley Esquier, residing then at his house at Michelgroue, distant about a myle from the house of William Dauies, to come vnto him (who within fewe dayes before had bene at the lodge at Petworth with the said Paget:) and nowe at their meeting in a coppice neere to Dauies house, Paget entred into speeche and discourse with him of diuers matters, and at the last among other things, hee began to be inquisitiue of the strength and fortification of Portesmouth, and what forces and strength her Maiestie had in the other partes
West.

Westwarde.

Paget brake out and declared vnto him that forraine princes would seeke reuenge against her Maiestie of the wronges by her done vnto them, and woulde take such time and opportunitie as might best serue them for that purpose, and said that those princes disdained to see the Scottish Queene so kept and vsed here as shee was, and would vse al their forces for her deliuerie: that the Duke of *Guise* would be a dealer therein, and that the Earle of Northumberland would be an assistant vnto them, willing *Shelley* whatsoeuer should happen, to followe the Earle of Northumberland, affirming that there was not a noble man in England of conduct and gouernement like to the saide Earle: saying further, that the Earle of Northumberland was affected to the Scottish Queene, and would doe what he could for her aduancement.

That the Duke of *Guise* had forces in a readines to be employed for the altering of the state of Religion here in England, and to set the Scottish Queene at libertie.

Shelley gathered by these and other speeches which passed betweene him and *Paget*, that *Paget* had delt with the Earle as a chiefe partie, and a man forward in these actions: and *Paget* confessed that hee came ouer to breake and deale in these matters.

Paget deliuered further, that the Catholiques would all ioyne for so good a purpose, for that it would bee a meanes to reforme Religion.

He said, the stirre should be in the North partes, because Suffex was not conuenient, aswell for that there were no safe landing places, as for that it was so neere London, where the Queenes Maiestie would be ready to resiste them, and that whensoeuer any stirre shoulde bee, the Earle of Northumberland would not stay in Suffex, but would into the North partes.

When Master Attorney generall had in this sorte laid downe the particularities of the treasons and traiterous practises

M. Sollicitor.

practises of the confederates for this purposed inuasion, then *Thomas Edgerton Esquier*, her Maiesties Sollicitour, to prooue the Earle guiltie of these treasons by the circumstaunces of his owne proceedings, shewed that the Earle knowing how farre himselfe was touched with the said treasons, and in what degree of danger he stood if they should haue bene reuealed, found his onely hope of safetie to consist in the cunning concealing of them, and therefore hee endeouored to couer them by all the possible meanes he could deuise.

And first, by conuaying away of the Lorde *Paget*, a man not onely priue to the practises and treasons handled by *Francis Throckemorton*, but also to the treasons of his brother *Charles*, wherein the Earle and the Lorde *Paget* were doubtles both confederates with *Charles*, made acquainted by him with the causes of his coming ouer, as principall men with whome hee delt in those matters at *Petworth*.

The occasion that prouoked the Earle to couay away the Lord *Paget*, grew vpon the apprehension of *Throckemorton*, who being committed to the Tower, and charged with high matters, was in case to be delt withall by way of extremitie to bee made to confesse the treasons charged vpon him, in reuealing whereof, *Charles Paget*s comming to *Petworth*, and the cause of his repaire thither could not be concealed.

No man at this time within the Realme could accuse the Earle of these confederacies but y Lord *Paget* only, who stood in dāger to be discouered by *Francis Throckemorton*; the safetie therefore of the Earle rested altogether vpon the Lord *Pagets* departing out of the Realme, which was procured by the Earle with so great expedition, as that *Throckemorton* being committed to the Towre about the seuenth day of Nouember, 1583. the Earle made meates the twelfth day to haue the Lorde *Paget* provided of shipping in all hast by *Willia Shelly*, wherein

wherein the Earle vsed such importunate intreatie, and sent so often to hasten the preparation of the shippe, that the same was provided and the Lord Paget embarked by the xxiii. day of the same moneth following, or thereabout,

The departure of the Lord Paget soone after discovered, and howe, and by whom he was conuayed away: Her Maiestie vpon good cause taking offence thereat, the Earle being then at London had notice thereof, and of the confessions of Throckemorton (who began to discover the treasons) came presently downe to Petworthe, sent immediatly for William Shelley, who comming to him to Petworth the next morning about dinner time, met the Earle in a dining parlour ready to go to his dinner: the Earle tooke Shelley aside into a chamber, and as a man greatly distracted and troubled in minde, entred into these speeches: *Alas I am a man cast away*, and Shelley demanding what hee meant by those speeches, the Earle answered, *The actions I haue entred into, I feare, will be my utter undoing*, and thereupon desired Shelley to keepe his counsell, and to discover no more of him then he must needes,

The Earle moreover at this meeting intreated William Shelley to conuey away all such as he knew to haue bene employed and were priuie of the Lord Pagets going away, and of Charles Pagets comming ouer, which was accordingly perfourmed by Shelley: and the Earle for his part, conuayed away a principall man of his own, whom he had often vsed in messages into France, and had bene of trust appointed by the Earle, to attende on Charles Paget, all y^e time of his stay at Connigan Lodge.

Master Sollicitour pursuing the matters that made the Earles practices & deuises for the concealing of his treasons manifeste, declared further, that after the Earle and Shelley had obtained some libertie in the Tower after their first restraint: the Earle found meanes to haue

intelligence with *Shelley*, and was aduertised from him of all that he had confessed in his first examinations taken before they were last restrained: sithens which time, the Earle by corrupting of his keeper hath practised to haue continuall aduertisemēts as before, as well of things done within the Tower as abroad: insomuch as by his said keeper, hee had sent and conuayed twelue seuerall letters out of the Tower within y space of nine or tenne weekes, and one of those on Sunday the xx. day of Iune in the morning, when hee murdered himselfe the night following.

By the same corruption of his keepers, hee sent also a message to *William Shelley* by a maide seruant in the Tower, by the which he required him to stand to his first confessions, and to goe no further, for so it would be best for him, and he shoulde keepe himselfe out of daunger. Wherunto *Shelley* retourned answere by the same messenger, that he could holde out no longer, that he had co-cealed the matters as long as he coude, and willed the Earle to consider that there was a great difference betweene the Earles estate and his: for that the Earle in respect of his nobilitie was not in danger to be delt withal in such sorte as he the said *Shelley* was like to bee, being but a priuate gentleman, and therefore to be vsed with al extremitie to be made confessie the trueth: wherefore he aduised the Earle to deale plainely, and to remember what speeches had passed at his house at Petworth, when *Charles Paget* came last thither.

James Price by the same corruptiō of the Earles keeper came to *William Shelley* on the Friday or Saturday before Trinitie Sunday last, and tolde him that the Earle was verie desirous to ynderstand how farre he had gone in his confessions: and at *Prices* instance, *Shelley* did set down in writing the effect of the said confessions, and sent the same to the said Earle, who vpon the sight therof, perceiuing the treasons reuealed and discouered,
and

and knowing thereby howe haynous his offences were, fearing the iustice and seueritie of the Lawes, and so the ruyne and ouerthrowe of his house, fel into desperation, and so to the destruction of himselfe: for confirmation whereof, it was confessed by one *Iaques Pantins*, a grome of the Earles chamber, who had attended on the Earle in the Tower by the space of tēne weekes before his death, that he had heard the Earle often saye, that Master *Shelley* was no faithfull friend vnto him, and that hee had confessed such things as were sufficient to ouerthrowe them both: that he was vndone by *Shelleys* accusations, affirming that the Earle began to despaire of himselfe, often with teares lamenting his cause, which the Earle said to proceede onely of the remembrance of his wife and children, saying further, that such matters were laide to his charge, that he expected no fauour, but to be brought to his triall, and then hee was but a lost man: repeating often that *Shelley* had vndone him, and still mistrusting his cause, wished for death.

Herewith, Master Sollicitour concluded, and then Syr *Roger Mamwood* Knight, Lord chiefe Baron of her Maiesties Eschequier, entred into the discriptiō of the Earles death, and in what sorte hee had murdered himselfe: shewing first howe the same had bene found by a very substantiall Iurie chosen among the best commoners of the Citie, empanelled by the Crowner vpon the viewe of the bodie, and diligent enquirie by all due meanes had according to the lawe, and declared, That vpon the discouerie of the intelligence conueted betweene the Earle and *Shelley*, it was thought necessarie for the benefit of her maiesties seruice, by such of her Highnesse most honourable priuie Counsell, as were appoynted Commissioners to examine the course of these treasons, that *Iaques Pantins* attending vpon the Earle, *Tho. Bailiff* and the Earles corrupt keepers should be remooued: 21. Iunii. whereupon *Thomas Bailiffe* gentleman, sent to attend 1585. de-
C. iii, on the posed.

on the Earle of Northumberland, vpon the removing of *Palmer* & *Jaques Pantins* from about the said Earle (who from the beginning of his last restraint attended on him) for the reasons lastly before mentioned, was by the Lieutenant of the Towre on the Sunday about two of the clocke in the after noone (being the xx. of June) shut vp with the Earle, as appoynted to remaine with him, and serue him in the prison for a time, vntill *Palmer*, *Pantins*, and *Price*; then committed close prisoners, might be examined how the Earle came by such intelligences as were discovered to haue passed betweene the Earle and *Shelley*, and betweene the Earle and others. *Bailiffe* serued the Earle at his supper, brought him to his bed about nine of the clocke, and after some seruices done by the Earles commaundement, departed from the Earle to an vtter Chamber; where he lay part of that night: and being come into his chamber, the Earle rose out of his bed and came to his chamber dore, and bolted the same vnto him in the inner side, saying to *Bailiffe*, he coulde not sleepe vnlesse his dore were fast. About twelue of the clocke at midnight, *Bailiffe* being in a slumber, heard a great noyse, seeming vnto him to be the falling of some dore, or rather a piece of the house: the noyse was so sudden and so great, that he started out of his bed, and crying vnto the Earle with a loude voice, said, My Lord, knowe you what this is? the Earle not answering, *Bailiffe* cryed & knocked still at the Earles dore, saying, My Lord, how doe you? but finding that the Earle made no answer, continued his crying and calling, vntill an olde man that lay without, spake vnto him, saying, Gentleman, shall I call the watch, seeing he will not speake? Yea, quoth *Bailiffe* for Gods sake, Then did the old man rise, and called one of the watch, whom *Bailiffe* intreated with all possible speede to call master Lieutenant vnto him. In the meane time *Bailiffe* heard the Earle giue a long and most grieuous grone, and after that, gaue a second

cond grone: and then the Lieutenant (being come) called to the Earle, who not answering, *Bailiffe* cried to the Lieutenant to breake open the Earles chamber dore bolted vnto him in the inner side, which was done, and then they found the Earle dead in his bed, and by his bed side a Dagge, wherewith he had killed himselfe.

Sir Owen Hopton knight, examined vpon his othe, affirmed that on Sunday last at night, lesse then a quarter of an houre before one of the clocke after midnight, he was called vp by the watche to come to the Earle of Northumberland, who had bene called vnto by *maister Bailiffe* his keeper, and would not speake (as the watche tolde him:!) wherupon the sayd *Sir Owen* went presently to the Earles lodging, opened the vtrer dores till hee came to the chamber where *maister Bailiffe* lay, which was next to the Earles bedde Chamber. *Bailiffe* said to this Examinee as he came in, that he was wakened with a noyse as it were of a dore or some great thing falling, and that he had called on the Earle, and could haue no answer: And this Examinee going to the Earles Chamber dore, finding the same bolted fast on the other side within the earles lodging, so as he could not goe into the Earle, this Examinee called on the Earle, telling him the Lieutenant was there, and prayed his Lordship to open the dore: but this Examinee hauing no answer made vnto him, and finding the dore fast bolted in the inner side of the Earles Chamber with a strong iron bolte, so as they could not enter into the same out of the lodging where the said *Bailiffe* lay without breaking vp the Chamber dore, caused the Warders which were with this Examinee, to thrust in their Holbards, and to wrest the dore thereby, as much as they could, and withall to runne at the dore with their feet, and with violence to thrust it open, which they did accordingly. And when this Examinee came into the Chamber, in turning vp the sheetes, he perceiued them

*Sir Owen
Hopton
Knight,
Lieutenant
of the
Tower.
1585.*

to be bludded: and then searching further, founde the wound, which was very neere the pappe, not thinking at the first sight, but that it had bene done with a knife. This Examine went thereupon presently to write to the Court, and tooke the warders into the ytter chamber, and left them there vntill he returned, bolting the dore of the Earles bed chamber on the outside: and as soone as this Examine returned from writing of his Letter to the Court, he searched about the chamber, and found the Dagge in the floore, about three foote from the bedde, neere vnto a table that had a greene cloth on it, which did somewhat shadowe the Dagge: and after, turning downe the bed clothes, founde the boxe in the which the powder and pellets were, on the bed vnder the Couerlet, and sayth, that the Chamber where the Earle laye, hath no other dore but that one dore which was broken open as aforesayde, saue one dore that went into a priuie, which hath no maner of passage out of it: and that the Earles lodging chamber, and the entring to the priuie, are both walled rounde about with a stone wall, and a bricke wall, and that there is no dore or passage out of or from the saide Earles bed Chamber or priuie, but that onely dore which was broken open by the ap-
 poyntment of this Examine. The Warders that were with this Examine at the entrie into the prison, and the breaking vp of the Earles chamber dore, and the doing of the other thinges aforesayde, were *Michaell Sibley*, *Anthony Davies*, *Williams Ryland* and *Iohn Potter*, and one *Iohn Pinner* this Examines seruant was there also.

For the prooffe and confirmation of the seuerall parts and poyntes of this deposition, *Sibley*, *Davies*, *Ryland*, *Potter* and *Pinner* were deposed, and they *viua voce* affirmed so much thereof to be true, as was reported by the examination of the Lieutenant, concerning the coming of the Lieutenant to the Earles chamber, the breaking vp of the dore being bolted with a strong bolte on the

the inner side, the finding of the Earle dead vpon his bed, the Dagge lying on the ground, the powder and pellets in a boxe on the bed vnder the Couerlet, with the rest of the circumstances thereunto appertayning. They affirmed also, that there was but one doore in the Earles chamber, sauing the dore of the priue, which together with the chintrey was strongly walled about with stone and bricks: and further (as I remember) the Lord chiefe Baron confirmed the same, hauing viewed the Chamber himselfe where the Earle lodged, and was founde dead.

II *Inquest Pontius* in his examination of the xvi. of June confessed, that *James Price* deliuered the Dagge to the Earle his master in this examiners presence: whereupon he presently suspected that the Earle meant mischief to himselfe, and therefore did his indeuour to perswade the Earle to lend away the Dagge, and tolde the Earle that he knewe not how the Deuill might tempt his Lordship, and that the Deuill was great: but could by no meanes preuaile with the Earle in that behalfe: and saith moreover, that the Earle required him to hide the Dagge, and he thereupon hanged the same on a nayle within the Chintrey in the Earles bed Chamber, where the Earle thinking the same not to be sufficiently safe in that place, it was by the Earles appointment taken fro thence, and put into a slitte in the side of a mattresse that lay vnder the Earles bedde, neere to the beds head, and that the same Sunday morning that the Earle murdered himselfe at night, he sawe the Dagge lying vnder the Earles beds head. The Dagge was bought not many dayes before of one *Adrian Mulan* a Daggemaker, dwelling in East Smithfield, as by the said *Mulan* was testified vnder othe vpon his othe in the open Court at the time of the publique Declaration made of these matters in the Starre Chamber.

*Adrian
Mulan.*

All these particularities considered, with the depositions

ons and proues of the witness concerning the Earles death, first, how he came by the Dagge; secondly, how long he had kept the same; and in what secret manner thirdly, the Earle, boling of his Chamber dore in the inside: fourthly, the blow of the Dagge; fifthly, the breaking vp of the Earles Chamber dore by the Lieutenant of the Towre: and lastly, the finding of the Earle dead as aforesayde: (what is he, for simple stanes think or imagine, or so impudent and malicious that will haue and reporte, that the Earle of Northumberland should haue bene murdered of purpose, by practise or deuise of any person, affecting his destruction in that manner? If men consider the inconuenience happened thereby, as well in matter of State, as commoditie to the Queenes Maiestie, lost by the prevention of his tryall: who can in reason coniecture the Earle to haue bene murdered of pollicie or set purpose, as the euill affected seeme to conceaue? If the Earle had liued to haue receiued the Censure of the lawe for his offences, y^e all lewde and fraudulent obiections had then bene answered; and all his goods, chattels and lands by his attaindure, had come vnto her Maiestie, and the Honour and State of his house and posteritie utterly overthrowen: the considerations & feare whereof, appeareth without all doubt to haue bene the principall & only cause that made him say violent hands vpo himselfe. If obiections be made, that to murder him in that sort might be a satisfaction to his enemies, who could be pacified by no meane, but with his blood: that seemeth to be as improbable, for that it is commonly discerned in the corrupt nature of man, that when we are possessed with so profound a hatred, as to seeke the death of our enemy, we imagine and wish his destruction to be had with the greatest shame and infamie that can be deuised: thinke you not then, that if the Earle of Northumberland had any such enemy that knewed him, & get wherein he stode; and that his tryall and conviction

by

by lawe, would drawe vpon him the losse of his life, lands and goods, fame, honour, and the vtter subuersion of his house, and would be so kinde hearsed vnto him, as to helpe to take away his life onely, & saue him all the rest? I suppose there is no man of iudgement will beleue it. But to returne to the manner of the Earles death. It was declared by the Lord *Hunsdon*, & the Lord chiefe Baron, that the Dagge wherewith the Earle murdered himselfe, was charged with three bullets, and so of necessitie with more then an ordinarie charge of powder, to force that waight of Bullet to worke their effect. The Earle lying vpon his backe on the left side of his bedde, tooke the Dagge charged in his left hand (by all likelihoode) layde the mouth of the Dagge vpon his left pappe (hauing first put aside his waistcoate) and his shirte being only betwene the Dagge and his body (which was burnt away the breadth of a large hand) discharged the same, wherewith was made a large wounde in his sayde pappe, his heart pearced and torne in diuers lobes or pieces, three of his ribbes broken, the Chine bone of his backe cut almost in sunder, and vnder the poynt of the shoulder blade on the right side within the skinne, the three Bullets were founde by the Lord *Hunsdon*, which he caused the Surgion in his presence to cut out, lying all three close together within the breadth and compasse of an ynche or there about: the bullets were shewed by his Lordshippe at the time of the publication made in the Court at the Starre chamber.

And whereas it hath bene slanderously giuen out to the aduantage of the Earle, as the reporters suppose, that he was imprisoned and kept in so straight, narrowe and close roome, with such penurie of ayre and breath, that thereby he grewe sickely and weary of his life, and that to haue bene the cause chiefly why he murdered himself, (if it were so that hee died by the violence of his owne hand which they hardly beleue:) to answer that pee-

nish and senseles slander, there was much spoken by the Lord chiefe Baron, who had viewed and caused very exactly to be measured the chambers and roomes within the prison where y^e Earle lay, being part of her Maiesties owne lodging in the Towre: the particular length and breadth of the said chambers and roomes, and the qualitie of the lightes and windowes, expressed by the saide Lord chiefe Baron, I can not repeate: but well I doe remember it was declared that all the daye time the Earle had the libertie of siue large chambers, and two long entries within the vtter doore of his prison: three of which chambers, and one of the entries, lay vpon two faire gardens within the Towre wall, & vpon the Towre wharfe, with a pleasant prospect to the Thames, & to the Countrey, more then siue miles beyond. The windowes were of a very large proportion, yeelding so much ayre & light as more cannot be desired in any house: Note therefore how maliciously those that fauour Traitors & treasons, can deliuer out these and the like slaunderous speeches, to the dishonour of her Maiestie, noting her Counsaillers and ministers with inhumanitie and vncharitable seueritie, contrary to all trueth and honestie.

Whe the Lord chiefe Baro had finished this discourse of the maner of the Earles death with the circumstances, and had satisfied the Court and auditorie concerning the qualitie of the prison where the Earle had remained, Sir *Christopher Hatton* Knight, her Maiesties vicechamberlaine, who (as it seemed) had bene specially employed by her Maiestie among others of her priuie Councell in the looking into and examining of the treasons aforesaide, as well in the person of the Earle as of others, and at the time of the Earles commitment from his house in *S. Martins* to the Towre of London, sent vnto him from her Maiestie to put the Earle in minde of her Maiesties manifold graces & fauours in former times conferred vpon him, proceeding fro the Spring of her Maiesties Princely and

and beautifull nature; and none of his deservings, and
to advise him to deliver the truth of the matters so
clearly appearing against him, either by his letters pri-
vately to her Maiestie, or by speech to Master Vicecham-
berlaine, who signified also vnto him, that if he would de-
termine to take that course, he should not onely not bee
committed to the Towre, but shoulde finde grace and
fauour at her Maiesties hands in the mitigation of such
punishment as the Lawe might laye vpon him. And
here, Master vice chamberlaine repeated at length the ef-
fect of her Maiesties message at that time sent to the
Earle, beginning first with the remembrance of his prac-
tise undertaken for the conuaying away of the Scottish
Queene about the time of the last rebellion (as hath bene
declared in the beginning of this tract) and that he con-
fessing the offence being capitall, her Maiestie notwith-
les was pleased to alter the course of his trial by the iu-
stice of her lawes, & suffered the same to receaue a slight
and easie punishment by way of *Multe*, or fine of 5000.
markes, whereof before this his imprisonment (as it is
crediblie reported) there was not one peny paide, or his
land touched with any extent for the payment thereof,
which offence was by her Maiestie not onely most gra-
tiously forgiuen, but also most Christianly forgotten,
receiuing him not long after to the place of honour
that his auncestours had enioyed for many yeeres before
him, and gaue him such entrance into her Princely fa-
uour and good opinion, that no man of his qualitie
receiued greater countenance and comfort at her Maie-
sties hands then he, insomuch that in all exercises of re-
creation vsed by her Maiestie, the Earle was alwayes cal-
led to be one, and whensoever her Maiestie shewed her
selfe abroad in publique, she gaue to him the honour of
the best and highest seruices about her person, more of-
ten then to all the noble men of her Court.

But the remembrance of these most gracious & more
then

then extraordinary benefices received, nor
 the hope given unto him by Master [unclear] of
 her Majesties disposition of matters towards him, nor the
 consideration of the depth and weight of his reasons
 against her Maies High Estimation of her Crowne and dignitie,
 with the danger to be like to fall upon him by the
 course of that highnes Iudgement, to the vtter ruine and sub-
 uersion of him and his house (standing now at her Maie-
 sties mercy) could once move his heart to that naturall
 and dutifull duty of her Majesties service that he ought to
 haue borne towards her, and the most worthily had mer-
 rited at his hands, or any stintrie or compassion of him-
 selfe and his posteritie, but resting vpon termes of his his
 moeritie, hauing as you may perceiue contrayed away al
 those that he thought might or would any waye aduise
 him, he made choyse rather to goe to the Towre to abide
 the hand of her Majesties high indignation, & the ex-
 tremities of the Law for his offences, a notable iugment of
 his selfe, and that God by his iust iudgement, had for his
 finnes and ingratitude taken from him his Spirit of
 grace, and deliuered him over to the chemic of his soule,
 who brought him to that most dreadful & horrible end,
 whereunto he is come, from the which God of his mer-
 cy defend all Christian people, & preserve the Queenes
 Majestie from the Treasons of her Subjects, that shes
 may live in all happinesse to see the ruine of her ene-
 mies abroad and at home, and that she and we her
 true and loving Subjects, may be alwayes
 thankfull to God for all his blessings, bestowed
 vpon us by her the
 bountifull and mercifull
 God of all mercies, who
 hath by his Gospel
 taught us to be
 mercifull vnto our
 enemies, as he is
 mercifull vnto
 us, and hath
 promised to
 reward us for
 our good works,

FINIS

